

# The Reply

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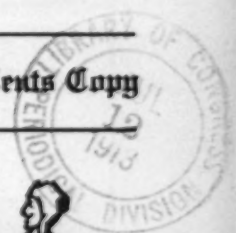
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An  
Anti-Suffrage  
Magazine



Volume 1

Number 3





# The Reply

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Helen S. Harman-Brown, Editor and Publisher

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# W O M A N AND THE REPUBLIC

A survey of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the United States and a  
Discussion of the Claims and Arguments of its Foremost Advocates

By  
Helen Kendrick Johnson

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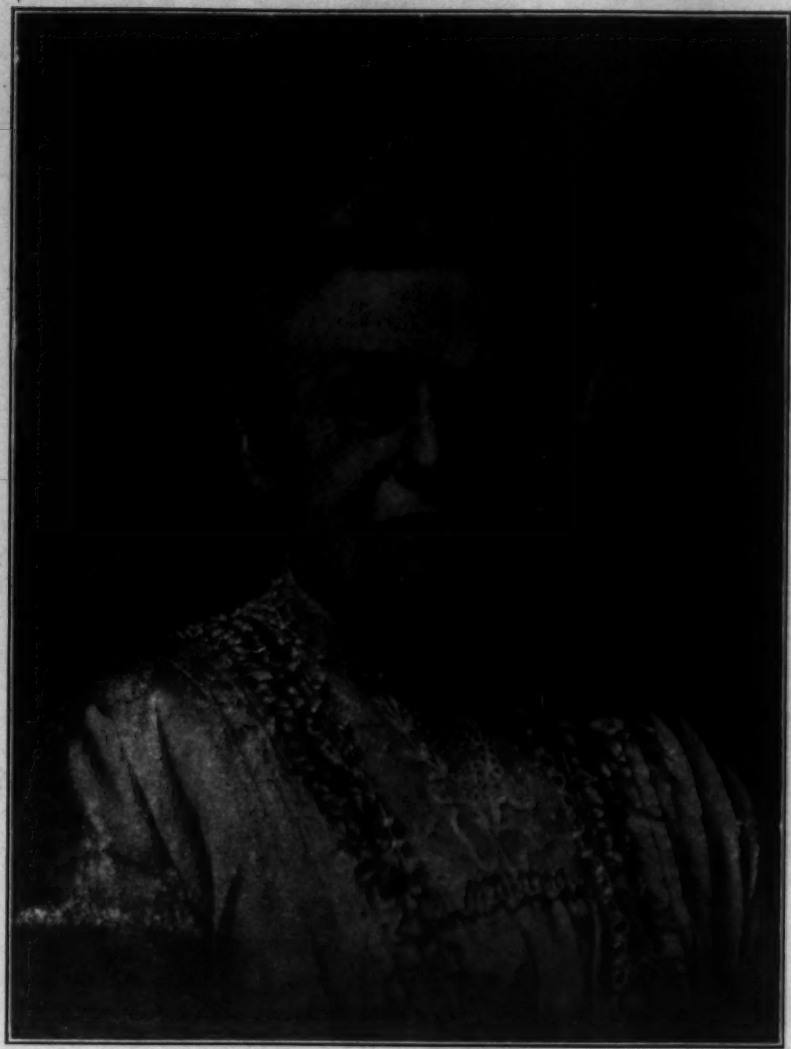
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MRS. HELEN KENDRICK JOHNSON  
AUTHOR OF "WOMAN AND THE REPUBLIC"

# The Reply

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An Anti-Suffrage Magazine

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July, 1913

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## EDITORIAL

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“**H**OW did the volunteers behave under fire?” asked General Washington anxiously, at the news of the first battle of the American Revolution. When assured that they could be depended on, he never doubted the ultimate result of the war with the regulars. American womanhood is “under fire” today and the volunteers will and must justify the prophecy of the Father of his Country, but they have a grave responsibility, not only to themselves and their children, but to the Nation. We believe, and figures bear us out in the contention, that the majority of American women are not only indifferent, but opposed to Woman Suffrage. We believe that granting the franchise to women would be an injury, not only to them, but to our country. We claim that Woman Suffrage is an unpatriotic cause, and as such, we, who are opposing it, are fighting for our country. We are not fighting for pay, and we have no desire to keep up this struggle, as has been hinted is the wish of Mrs. Pankhurst, the militant leader, who, we are told, finds it does pay.

Suffragists make much of the fact that Anti-Suffragists are inconsistent in coming out into the open and showing the world that they do not wish the ballot. They make use of the well-worn argument, “Woman’s place is in the home,” and never seem to see (voluntary blindness!) that all women would stay in their homes, or spheres, if these restless females did not go up and down the land claiming to represent the will of the women. Is the majority to sit patiently by and see their rights taken from them? Woman nature is changed indeed (cowed) if she is not to “answer back.” Answering back in the present crisis becomes a positive duty. The volunteers are being called out and no woman, however she dreads publicity, should neglect the call of her country. Someone has said of Anti-Suffragists that they go into politics to keep out of them, and it is well that those who “don’t want to vote, but don’t see why the others should not,” should take a “preliminary canter” into this controversy and see something of the feminine tactics already in practise. An increase in active opposi-



tion would be very noticeable and the volunteers would win, with the hirelings on the run.



**P**RESUMABLY as an argument in favor of granting the suffrage to women, the following question is asked by the Woman's Political World of June 2:

"Do you realize that the gross profits from prostitution in New York city are at least \$75,000,000 per year and that the vast majority of this sum goes to the men who exploit the women?"

It would be instructive to discover the source of the information as to figures, but it is doubtless too much to expect accuracy. We will, however, be glad to have the proof of the paper's statement.

In view of the above, it is interesting to note that on June 12 four indictments were handed up to Justice Seabury by the Supreme Court Grand Jury. The indictments were against the four alleged ring-leaders in the so-called "Vice Trust," which is said to have an interest in more than forty disorderly houses and which is also said to have absolutely controlled thirty of these houses. Each of the four (two women as well as two men) are credited with \$250,000 in profits each year. Where was the "vast majority of profit" in the men's pockets on this occasion? Also the expense account of the thirty houses under the absolute control of the two women and two men shows an average monthly payment of about \$115 each to sixteen hundred women, not including housekeepers in charge.

Without condoning man's part in this evil, it is about time that consideration of even these women's responsibility is given some weight.

Two women and two men! Equality in crime is not often a subject of thought, but here is an instance and it is well to remember that had women a vote these two women and two men would still have identical interests.



**A** LETTER from a Suffragist quotes Everett Colby, of New Jersey fame, Progressive and Woman Suffragist, as saying: "Whereas, I do not deny there are many fine and well-meaning people who are opposed to Woman Suffrage, yet at the same time I never knew a corrupt politician who was in favor of it." Somehow, this sentence reminds us of our school days, when Ollendorf's French and German lessons were taught, in the famous sentences, translated somewhat as follows: "Have you the great coat of my grandfather?" "No, but my cousin's shoes are in the barn."

Mr. Colby might say, "I never knew a corrupt politician to be in favor of the Progressive party," but would that line of argument persuade any man that T. R.'s party was the party to join? It is only for women studying the first principles of politics in the politicians' lesson books, to be fooled in this way by the men who manipulate their votes. The Governorship of New Jersey might easily be won by the clever handling of the gentler (?) sex!



## The Social Influence of Jean Jacques Rousseau

By Julia T. Waterman

**D**URING Rousseau's first stay in Paris a prize was offered for the best essay on the effect of the progress of civilization on morals. He was inspired by the happy idea of writing a paradoxical treatise on the desirability of returning to a state of savagery. He won the prize and set the world talking. Savagery, as set forth by a neurotic, possessed a great charm for the artificial society of his day. Like modern Suffragists, he regarded "support" as degrading to women and never insulted any woman by offering it.

Of the *Contrat Social*, the Palladium of Social Liberties, one critic says: "Historically it is null, logically it is full of gaping flaws, practically its manipulations of the *velonte de tous* and the *velonte generale* are clearly insufficient to obviate anarchy. But its mixture of real eloquence and apparent cogency is exactly such as always carries a multitude with it, if only for a time." Taine called it "adulterated brandy." Pollock, in his *History of the Science of Politics*, refers to these theories of government as a "great and dangerous deceit of nations." Quinet said that Rousseau bequeathed not only his ideas but his emotional temperament to the French revolution. Napoleon thought that without Rousseau the Revolution could not have occurred. Lamartine called him the "great and fatal Utopist of societies" and the *Social Contrat*, the "fundamental book of the Revolution." St. Just nick-named him the "Revolutionary man." The English poet, Coleridge, tells of men travelling

in France at the commencement of the Revolution who bore witness that "the public highways were crowded with enthusiasts, some shouting the watchwords of the Revolution, others disputing on the most abstract principles of the universal constitution . . . the most ignorant confident of his fitness for the highest duties of a legislator, and all prepared to shed their blood in defense of the inalienable sovereignty of the self-governed people. The more abstract the notions were, with the closer affinity did they combine with the most fervent feelings and all the immediate impulses to action." A parallel might be drawn to cause us sober reflection on present conditions in our great Republic.

Rousseau was the son of a watchmaker, a violent, dissipated man of ordinary intelligence. His youth was devoid of discipline, instruction or sensible example. He became a valet as soon as he was old enough. According to his "Confessions," which have all the weaknesses of such documents in general, he stole consistently and laid the blame on a poor girl who was his fellow servant. His second situation was lost through foolish vanity. He was then sent to live in the house of a Mme. de Warens, at Annecy, who had deserted her husband, carrying with her all the property she could. Here began what Rousseau was pleased to term an "idyllic episode." The lady was years older than Rousseau, but he became her lover while occupying the position of servant.

All his life his habits were those of a vagabond. Excessive vanity supplied the place of solid information. He attempted to give a concert in Lausanne of his own compositions, though devoid of any knowledge of music, and also taught in Neuchâtel, although wanting in education. On these occasions his ignorance was exposed but later his purely theoretical and sentimental ideas on education and government were received with enthusiasm by a bored and fastidious society, weary of the burden of form and ceremony and attracted by the prospect of a return to nature. "A return to Nature," said Taine, "meaning by this the abolition of society, was the war cry of the whole encyclopaedic battalion."

Rousseau's health was always unstable. Sent by Mme. de Warens at her expense to make a recovery, he enjoyed another idyllic episode en route, returning to find himself supplanted in the affections of the lady whom he respectfully called "Maman." After one or two changes of situation, always caused by ill usage and injustice, he went as Secretary to the Ambassador to Venice, where his treatment was even worse than usual. In 1745 he arrived in Paris and arranged a domestic establishment for himself, having as housekeeper an inn servant named Therese Lavasseur, whom he had met two years previously. She worked, cooked and mended for him and by her he had five children, all of whom according to his "Confessions," were consigned to a foundling asylum at birth. His own words describe his sentiments regarding these interesting events: "I have always considered the day on which I was united to Therese as that which fixed my moral existence. An attachment was necessary

to me, since that which would have been sufficient to my heart had been so cruelly broken (Mme. de Warens). . . . I resolved in future to provide for immediate wants, seeing nothing in life which could tempt me to make extraordinary efforts.

. . . The mild character of the good Therese seemed so fitted to my own that I united myself to her with an attachment, which neither time nor injuries could impair and which has constantly been increased by everything by which it might have been expected to be diminished. I come to speak of the wounds she has given my heart in the height of my misery, without my ever having until this moment, once uttered a word of complaint to anyone (!). . . . When it shall be known that, after having done everything, braved everything, not to separate from her, that after passing with her twenty years, in despite of fate and men, I have made her my wife, without the least expectation or solicitation on her part, or promise or engagement on mine, the world will think that love bordering on madness. . . . What then will the reader think when I shall have told him with all the truth he has ever found in me that, from the first moment I saw her until that wherein I write, I have never felt the least love for her . . . and that, the physical wants which were satisfied with her person were, for me, solely those of sex, and by no means proceeding from the individual. . . . Thus it was that notwithstanding a sincere and reciprocal attachment in which I lavished all the tenderness of my heart, the void in that heart was never completely filled. Children by whom this effect should have been produced were brought into the world, but these only made things worse. I trembled

at the thought of entrusting them to a family ill brought up to be worse educated (Therese's family). The risk of the education of the foundling asylum was much less.

Lamartine referred to the conduct of Rousseau to his children as betokening "a selfish ferocity, below the instinct of the 'brute,' and proving him the 'Tartuffe of humanity.'" Frederika Macdonald, one of his biographers, is charitably inclined to doubt the facts, believing Rousseau to have been neither a hard-hearted nor cruel man. She quotes in his behalf his own extraordinary words: "The arrangement I had made for my children appeared to me so right, so sensible, so just, that if I did not openly boast of it, it was solely out of consideration for the mother. But I told it to all who knew of our liason. I told it to Diderot and Grimm." Rousseau was obviously not what is known as a hard hearted man. On the contrary, Professor Tozer alludes to him as "Rousseau, the man of feeling," and says, "his reason was always at the mercy of his emotions." He was infinitely more dangerous as a political and social influence than a man of hard heart, for he was a perverted sentimentalist. His theories in regard to children, however, were only a little in advance of his time. We are told that state guardianship will soon be generally accepted, leaving men and women free for independent wage earning and untrammelled pursuit of happiness. That Rousseau fully believed in his conception of fatherhood and brotherhood I see no reason to doubt, but the paternalism which finds expression in the foundling asylum and the fraternity of the guillotine will never long satisfy humanity as a whole. They will most likely prefer inequality to that

solution. Later Rousseau deplored the abandonment of his children and came to regard it as "an error and not a crime." His nebulous kind of natural religion, (*Encyclopedia Britannica*) "at once fashionable and convenient," could hardly have convicted his complacent conscience of more than "error" in any case.

The year 1756 finds him established in a cottage on Mme. d'Epinay's estate, living at her expense, as he had lived at Mme. de Waren's, Therese still cooking and mending for him. Here he became involved in several intrigues and left the following year, indignant at the cold and callous treatment he had as usual received at the hands of his friends. From this time on his quarrels became more frequent. He offended all parties and became so unpopular in France that he at last decided to leave his country and go to England. Therese accompanied him. There he quarrelled with Hume, who had befriended him and supported him, and returned to France. At this period and for fifteen years after to the time of his death, Rousseau was "clearly half insane," quarrelling with everyone, and suspecting secret enemies. His death was sudden and by many thought to have been suicide, which most likely it was not.

After his death his offenses were condoned and his eccentricities forgiven. His political ideas "seemed harmless from the very want of logic and practical spirit in them." Yet on illogical and untrained minds like his own they undoubtedly produced a deep and lasting impression, which we feel to this day. A "Sentimental Deist" in religion, and quite wanting in the discipline of education, he was not naturally inclined to any but the emotional view of life. He ignored experience



and tried to fit human nature into a theory of imaginary perfection based on the appreciation of his own imaginary virtues.

I will close with an anecdote. In his declining years Rousseau encountered an ardent disciple, who hastened to assure him that his children were being brought up on Rousseau's advanced ideas (i. e., a

return to savagery). "God help the children," said Rousseau and passed on, doubtless reflecting on the five hapless ones less cared for by their parents than the young of the lowest animals. Such was the constructive genius of the new social order of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity from which Woman Suffrage evolved.



### From the Anti's Infant

From the New York Times, June 11  
 Mother, dear mother, come home to us now,  
 The clock in the church's high dome  
 Asserts it is midnight, and you must allow  
 A mother's true place is at home.  
 You have said it so often, you know you have, Ma!  
 You've roasted the Suffragists, all,  
 And yet here you go, gallivanting afar,  
 And leaving your baby to squall.  
 Come home! Come home! Please,  
 Mother, dear mother, come home!  
 Mother, dear mother, pray why do you go  
 Campaigning both early and late?  
 A true woman's sphere, as you very well know,  
 Is not touring a county or State.  
 Your husband, your infant, your duty, are here,  
 We long for a glimpse of your face.  
 Come home to us, mother, from far or from near,  
 And quit this unwomanly chase.  
 Come home, etc.  
 It seems not to matter, dear mother, one mite  
 That you are opposed to the vote  
 You leave us alone both by day and by night,  
 Just like those bad women you quote.  
 You say that they gad and leave babes to their fate  
 You say they are mannish and wrong,  
 And then you are caught staying early and late  
 Where you claim women do not belong.  
 Come home—again!

#### L'ENVOI

Pa's victuals are cold—my milk is all sour!  
 The bottle I'd smash if I could!  
 Come home to us, mother, if but for an hour—  
 Please, mother, come home and be good.

LURANA SHELDON.

### The Anti Mother to Her Infant

Written for THE REPLY

Baby, dear baby, I heed your loud call,  
 You know I will come when I can;  
 My reason for absence is forced on me, dear,  
 By those female opponents of man.

Baby, dear baby, you ask why I go  
 "Campaigning both early and late?"  
 I answer, my daughter, I do it to save  
 You, in future, from such a hard fate.

While the Suffragists, baby, work by day and by  
 night,  
 For the Cause, on the street, in the store,  
 Shall your meek Anti mother just fold her two  
 hands  
 And merely conditions deplore?

If I firmly believe in my heart, as I do,  
 That in politics women would fail;  
 Must I weakly be forced to submit to the vote  
 And men hear but one side of the tale?

#### L'ENVOI

So close your small eyes and peacefully sleep:  
 In reality, eight is the hour,  
 Your mother is fighting that you may retain  
 The best of your God-given dower.

EDITH HARMAN-BROWN.

New York, June 11, 1913.





## A Review of "Woman and the Republic"

By Olive L. Reamy

IN "Woman and the Republic" by Helen Kendrick Johnson, is given "a survey of the Woman Suffrage movement in the United States and a discussion of the claims and arguments of its foremost advocates" that is worthy of studious perusal by all earnest minded thinkers on this vital subject. The book is scholarly, sane, logical. It makes no appeal to the emotions and no misleading statements of facts. The arguments are basic.

If these arguments were carefully read by unprejudiced legislators all over the land, there would be no question of dual responsibilities and conflicting duties for women, nor would the State be burdened with the needless expense of a doubled electorate.

One is lead to see clearly that the family is the unit of government and that equal family representation, made possible by manhood suffrage, is in accordance with a democratic form of government, in which the legislative and executive power is vested in the voters.

One of the greatest weaknesses of the Suffrage contention is that casting a ballot is a privilege, or right, more or less dependent upon intellect. If voting was merely an expression of opinion on political questions, then women might consistently ask to be heard with a voice the same as that of men; but it is much more than an opinion. To express it bluntly, the franchise belongs to man because he is physically able to enforce his will. Men are not law-enforcers because they vote,

but they vote because they are law-enforcers.

That is an old argument and it would suffice if it were the only argument. In family, as well as state, law-making and law-enforcing must go together if order is to be maintained.

A government is like a human body. In a body the brain thinks and wills and the members execute. In a government the sovereign thinks and wills and the officers of justice and the soldiery execute and enforce the decrees of the sovereign—which sovereign, in a republic, means the people.

A paralytic may possess rare creative ability in some direction, but, without the physical power to execute his ideas, his brain energy is unavailing. So, a monarch may have the organizing genius of a Napoleon, but, without the force of soldiery strong enough to carry out his plans, his genius will be wasted.

For a perfectly developed body, or government, physical strength must go hand in hand with an active brain.

Why do the so-called Great Powers discuss and decide questions of international importance with little consideration for the opinions of the minor governments? It is soldiers, or possible soldiers. It is the number of men who can be put forward to demand rights, or defend principles. Arbitration cannot take the place of force. The force may be quiescent, but it is recognized just the same. In case of a dispute with the United States, England

might readily consent to arbitrate, but, if a little South American republic shouted arbitration till it was hoarse, its hope of having the cry heeded would be to gain the alliance of a stronger nation.

The power to enforce laws and to settle national disputes belongs to men. They are the executive power.

Let us consider now the sovereign, or directing power.

As stated, in a republic that lies in the voters. When a candidate is elected to office, it is to fulfill, as far as possible, the wishes of his constituents. If he fails, another is put into his place. If he obeys, the voters stand behind him with the support of arms, if need be.

Thus the ruling power and the enforcing power are the same.

But there is not unanimity of opinion in the ruling power we may say. True, and neither have we only one desire in our minds when we act. Often several desires are so nearly equal in strength that we debate some time before one desire gains the ascendancy and directs our movements.

So, in the nation there are conflicting parties. The one having the greatest numerical strength is the one which dominates the policies of the government. This is not because the opposing parties change their opinions, but because they recognize the fact that they are outnumbered and it is the part of wisdom to acquiesce in the will of the majority.

Giving the ballot to women means reducing the government to a semi-paralytic condition. The brain can think, but there may be no power to execute. Women can vote, but they can't enforce their wishes as expressed by their votes.

Carried to its logical conclusion, and

there is no way of avoiding that conclusion, it means possible anarchy—for laws which cannot be enforced are no laws at all.

From another point of view, Woman Suffrage becomes a war of sex and that would be detrimental not only to the stability of the government but to the happiness of the home.

There is no escape from this conclusion. Women must vote either the same as the men of their families or against them. If they vote the same, the total vote is increased without altering the result. If they vote against the men it is a political war of sex and, in case the men are outnumbered, it will be a reversal of democratic government, for the minority will rule. It is quite inconceivable that the force of the nation should yield to non-force—unless from chivalry, and chivalry is not what the Suffragists demand, or expect, if we may believe their assertions.

Again, it is the vote itself and not the opportunity to make laws which the Suffrage leaders are crying for, although they attempt to justify their demand by asserting that the moral influence of women on politics would be elevating. Unfortunately for their cause, the results of Woman Suffrage in the States where it has been tried do not support their claims, and, if we may judge from their quoted speeches, the women who have been elected to offices in these States are not such as we should choose for models of womanhood.

Politics degrade women more than women purify politics.

When the author of "Woman and the Republic" takes up the writings and speeches of the Suffragists and replies to them, she quotes from none except those who have been recognized leaders in the

movement. Many quotations are from the "History of Woman Suffrage," published in 1881-85 and edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage.

From this source comes the following in the opening paragraph:

"It is often asserted that, as women has always been man's slave, subject, inferior, dependent, under all forms of government and religion, slavery must be her normal condition, but that her condition is abnormal is proved by the marvelous change in her character, from a toy in the Turkish harem, or a drudge in the German fields, to a leader of thought in the literary circles of France, England and America."

This quotation illustrates the contradictions that inhere in the arguments on which Woman Suffrage is founded. In the first place, woman has not always been a slave under all forms of government and religion, and, in the second place, she has not changed from the condition mentioned in Turkey and Germany to that mentioned in England, France and America. Those are separate and distinct classes of women. Woman has risen only as man has risen. They have developed side by side. Where man is a barbarian woman is still a harem toy; where man is little more than a human clod, woman is today a drudge in the fields; where man has hewn the way to government and religious freedom, there woman has become a leader of thought.

The Suffragists ask, "Is not the next new force at hand in our social evolution to come from the entrance of women upon the political arena?"

The answer is, movement and progress are not synonymous terms. All movements are not upward. In order to learn

whether Woman Suffrage is in the line of advance, we must know whether the movement to obtain it has thus far blended itself with those that have proved to be for woman's progress and for the progress of government.

We know most of the causes which have contributed to the wonderful advance in every direction during the last fifty years. The extension of railway and steamship service and the marvelous inventions made possible by scientific research have revolutionized the world.

In the midst of this sudden move upward in civilization there occurred in our country a war which took away more than half a million of the nation's men, thus leaving a gap to be filled by women. This altered position of woman is not the work of Suffragists, but of altered opportunities.

Mrs. Johnson says, "How absolute is the dividing line between woman's progress and Woman Suffrage we may realize when we consider what the result would be if we could know tomorrow, beyond a peradventure, that woman never would vote in the United States. Not one of her charities, great or small, would be crippled, not a woman's college would close its doors. Not a profession would withhold its diploma from her, not a trade its recompense. Not a single just law would be repealed, or a bad one framed as a consequence. Not a good book would be forfeited, not a family would be less secure of domestic happiness."

In brief, the introductory chapter of "Woman and the Republic" maintains that the Suffrage movement has had no part in the advance of woman and that the annihilation of the idea of Woman Suffrage would not cause a halt in the advance.



In the second chapter the question "Is Woman Suffrage Democratic?" is considered.

In the "History of Woman Suffrage" the editors say, "Woman's political equality with man is the legitimate outgrowth of the fundamental principles of our government."

Various Suffrage writers and speakers who are quoted charge the American republic with being false to the democratic principles in excluding women from the franchise. Mrs. Johnson asserts that "both despotism and anarchy are more friendly to woman's political aspirations than is any form of constitutional government, and that manhood suffrage and not womanhood suffrage is the final result of the evolution of democracy."

There follows a review of the Suffrage question in all lands and in all times. The idea developed is that women may not vote on matters affecting the standing of the nation. In New England, in the early days, when church membership was the basis of the franchise, women could vote. Later, when there were property qualifications, women voted, but when the colonies became truly republican and were to be banded for offensive and defensive aid, the women were retired from the special vote on the result of which lay the actual execution of the law.

In the chapter, "Woman Suffrage and the American Republic," is given an account of the calling of a convention, in 1848, to consider the rights of women. The leaders in the movement, Elizabeth Cady Stanton for one, wrote a Declaration of Sentiments which was adopted by the Assembly. This Declaration was a travesty on our immortal Declaration of Independence. Having decided to adopt the

work of the fathers of our government as their guide, they say, "Knowing that women have more to complain of than man under any circumstances possibly could, and seeing the fathers had eighteen grievances, a protracted search was made through statute books, church usages and the customs of society, to find the exact number."

After following their model at some length, they say, "The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this let facts be submitted to a candid world." Then follows a parody on the eighteen grievances of our revolutionary fathers—a parody so false in statement that one wonders the Suffragists do not publicly repudiate the document.

The Declaration of Independence meant war against the ever growing encroachments of despotism. The gauntlet was thrown down at the feet of a king by his subjects.

The Declaration of Sentiments meant war against the whole social order as then constituted. The gauntlet was thrown down at the feet of man, by those who declared him to be a determined foe.

The women had no notion of "instituting a new government," as the fathers had. They relied upon the old government to sustain them in making their attempted rebellion a revolution.

The first grievance against man is this: "He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise."

The answer is that voting is not a natural right, it is a granted right, and it is withheld from those whose votes would be



out of harmony with democratic principles—that is, it is withheld from paupers, criminals and minors, but it is not withheld from women. They are not mentioned.

To make this clear we must ask what our country means to us. With every country is there not associated the thought of home and home ties? It is the collective family feeling which crystalizes into patriotism.

Our government is built on the desire of men to have families and to provide for them.

A pauper is useless to the community. He is a cipher and is debarred the rights of acting with the units of government. A criminal is a menace to society and the government and, hence, can have no voice in law making. A minor ranks with the woman as part of the home that is to be protected.

Thus voting is a granted right, granted to those who can uphold the joint will of the voters and defend the country.

The "consent of the governed" clause is next taken up. On this the Suffragists lay great stress.

This, as we all know, is twisted into a meaning which the revolutionary fathers had no thought of giving it. It does not mean that each and every individual must consent to each and every law that governs him. The laws have been carefully framed to compel the obedience of those who never consent, the criminal and the anarchist.

In the home children do not consent to be governed and, generally speaking, we might say that nobody who feels the restraining influence of any law consents to that law. He obeys because the majority have decided that the best interests of

society and the government require that particular law.

In regard to qualified Suffrage, a Suffrage speaker in New York naively said, "We (the women when enfranchised) will vote to withhold the Suffrage from the ignorant. She did not explain what would happen if the ignorant voted not to have the Suffrage withheld, nor did she appear to realize that she was practically admitting that the present voters had the right to withhold Suffrage from those whom they consider unfitted for it.

The second grievance runs, "He has compelled her to submit to laws in the formation of which she had no voice."

This was not true, for the women who wrote that sentence were free to use their voices in regard to every law they desired to effect.

The right of petition is not only as open to women as to man, but, because of the non-partisan character of their claims and suggestions, they find quicker hearing. There was no unjust law which the women could not have had changed. Change and improvement of laws was not their aim. It was the vote they sought.

The third grievance reads, "He has withheld from her rights which are given the most ignorant man—both natives and foreigners."

These same writers struck a truth damaging to their cause when they wrote, "The superiority of man does not enter into the demand for Suffrage, for, in this country all men vote, and, as the lower orders of men are not superior to the higher orders of woman, they must hold and exercise the right of self-government in some other ground than superiority to woman."

That is the kernel of the matter. In

this land the vote is the insignia of actual power, and it is the only insignia: the power to defend themselves and those who make country and home worth defending lies with the individual defenders. To attempt to put this power into the hands of those who are not physically fitted to defend their vote is to render law a farce.

If a government is not stable it is of little consequence that it is full of noble ideals. To give woman a position of apparent power without the reality would be to make our government forever unstable.

The fathers of the republic closed their Declaration of Independence from the tyranny of England by pledging their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to attain it. The mothers of the Woman's Rebellion closed their Declaration of Independence from the tyranny of the United States government with a pledge to distribute tracts and hold conventions, while they depended upon the courtesy of the tyrants to protect them in the peaceful execution of their design.

When the women were reminded that they would have to be exempt from military and police duty, they answered, "In an age when the wrongs of society are adjusted in the courts and at the ballot box, material force yields to reason and majority."

We see little of the strength that stands quietly but firmly behind every law's enactment and every poll's decision, but the strong arm of the law would lose its power to compel obedience if, behind the decree of judge, jury and legislators, there was not a sheriff, or a body of militia, ready to commit the unconsenting criminal to prison, or to take care of an unruly minority.

The vote is not given to man as a reward for standing ready to give his service to the State; it is a recognition by the State that, as he must stand ready to defend it, he should assist in framing the laws which he may be called upon to enforce. Woman's only relation to this defence is that of a beneficiary.

Suffragists mention, as a final indignity, the extension of the suffrage to the negro. Yes, but the negro has not the suffrage. Unarmed he finds he cannot enforce his right to vote. The law cannot enforce it for him against the will of the white man.

Would women be any better off if the men chose that they should not exercise the vote. Who would enforce it?

The next two grievances of the Suffragists may be summed up in the familiar cry, "No taxation without representation."

There is now no connection between taxation of property and representation. There is a money tax levied upon the property of men and women alike, and in return, for the payment of this tax, the property of both men and women is made secure against unlawful injury.

In order to make it secure, the state lays upon men alone a service tax, and with that tax goes the vote.

The tax on property is collected from that of minors, unnaturalized citizens, resident or non-resident, and to all these classes, as well as to women, is given the right of petition and legal redress of whatever sort.

There is a difference also between the cause of taxed woman and taxed colonists. The English government alienated the colonists by imposing on them taxes not levied on home subjects. If this government taxed the property of women separate from that of men, the situations

would be more nearly analogous, but here women pay the same taxes and receive the same benefits as men.

The laws, as framed, are for the protection rather than the oppression of women and, if there still remain laws which women regard as unjust, they have only to bring the fact before the public and prove their charge, to have them corrected.

The next grievance in the Suffrage Declaration of Sentiments is this: "He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments and from those she is permitted to follow she receives scanty remuneration."

Three years after making this complaint against the selfishness of man, Mrs. Stanton wrote to a Suffrage convention, "The trades and professions are all open to us; let us quietly enter and make ourselves, if not rich and famous, at least independent and respectable." This admission counteracts the former charge.

In regard to inequality of wages paid men and women, the Suffragists say, "Make women equal with men before the law and wages will adjust themselves."

Common sense and experience teach us that compensation for work is regulated by supply and demand and that the government cannot control either of these.

Government reports show that the average age of a working girl in this country is but twenty-two years and after twenty the number falls off rapidly. Unskilled labor must forever take the place of that which is withdrawn, which is another and most valid reason for lower wages.

In the highest forms of work, women compete with men on equal terms. In art and literature the prices are the same. In music women are just as well paid, and actresses are paid according to their drawing power.

One needs only mention the domestic servant problem to show how wages are regulated by supply and demand.

Without any legislation in their favor and without the assistance of a union or the franchise, the cook and the housemaid have but to ask and it is given them.

One Suffragist writer says, "Whatever may be the personal privileges of their lot, whatever the legal protection accorded to their earnings, the public status of women remains strictly that of aliens. At the present moment this vast and constantly growing army of women industrials constitutes an alien class.

"The privation for that class of political rights to defend its interests is only masked, but not compensated, by its numerous inter-relations with those who have the right."

This is a concession by the Suffragists that working women have personal privileges and legal protection. The alienism is merely from the ballot.

Foreign capitalists who own land or factories in the United States may not vote. There are large numbers of workingmen who are not naturalized, but they are at no disadvantage because of the fact. No distinction is made between voter and non-voter. The men of the District of Columbia are not conscious of lower wages or industrial ostracism.

Again the Suffragists say, "The share of women in political rights and life—imperfect and deferred under the predominance of militarism—has become natural, has become inevitable with the advent of industrialism, in which they largely share."

Mrs. Johnson says, "Industrialism has no power to change the basis of government. Industrialism is bringing into this country some of the gravest problems it



has ever met, and industrialism must be kept in order—by whom? Women?"

At a meeting in Washington, Mrs. Stanton said, "I have often said to men of the present day that the next generation of women will not stand arguing with you as patiently as we have for half a century. The organizations of labor all over the country are holding out their hands to women. The time is not far distant when the women will strike hands with labor, with socialists, with anarchists, and you will have the scenes of the Revolution of France acted over again in this republic."

Does that sound as if women were the peace-loving members of the human family?

The next charge in the Declaration of Sentiments reads, "He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, law, she is unknown."

This is another unfounded statement. First, man had not closed against women any avenue to wealth and distinction and there is no evidence that he felt toward her the selfish and monopolizing spirit charged.

Second, only three of the closed avenues are mentioned.

As education, author, artist in painting, music and sculpture she could freely compete with man. The Suffragists did not decry man's monopoly of civil engineering, seamanship, military and naval service and the like. These man was welcome to keep.

Another Suffragist writes of the determination manifested by trades unions to exclude women from trades, by learned societies to exclude them from professions, by universities, to exclude them from learning and by voters to exclude them from the polls.

In reply, Mrs. Johnson says, "The best

trades unions have admitted women to their associations or have helped them form their own; the worst trade unions, the socialistic and anarchistic have claimed for them the right to vote.

The learned societies are admitting them professionally as fast as they make themselves worthy. The men who opposed their entering men's universities are the same class of men who have been active in founding for women colleges equal to their own."

The next grievance runs, "He has denied her facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her."

This is manifestly untrue. There are, and were then, abundant facilities for obtaining a thorough education and the ballot was not required to obtain still greater facilities.

Colleges have been founded, or opened to women, as rapidly as there was need of them, but they have not been founded from any impulse of the Suffrage agitators.

The foremost educators, Matthew Vassar, Miss Lyon, of Mount Holyoke Seminary, Mrs. Willard, of Troy, held that education should be adapted to the female character and duties, and that this would raise the character of men.

A sister of Mrs. Willard's, herself an educator, wrote a Suffragist friend who was attending a Suffrage convention, "If we could with propriety petition the Almighty to change the condition of the sexes and let men take a turn in bearing children and in suffering the physical ailments peculiar to women, which render them unfit for certain positions and business, why, in this case, if we really wish to be men, and thought God would change the established order, we might make our petition, but why ask Congress to make us men?"

Someone asks if there is any more rea-



son why men's colleges should be invaded by women than why women's colleges should be invaded by men. There are colleges for women and colleges for men, but the Suffragists are not willing to permit men to have colleges for themselves alone.

The chapter on "Woman Suffrage and Sex" begins with this grievance, "He has created a false sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in men."

The writers of this do not say whether the code of morals referred to is a code of law or an unwritten code of public sentiment. If they mean the former, their statement is not true, for whatever laws affect moral delinquencies visit their penalties equally upon men and women.

If they mean public sentiment alone, the answer is that both men and women are responsible for the code.

The social life of the world is, to a large extent, in woman's hands. When she says to man, "You cannot bring your impurity into my home, the reform will begin in earnest, but it is not a matter to be accomplished by the ballot. The Suffragists have taken fewer steps in the direction of removing this social evil than in the direction of bringing about a system of easier divorce.

In the words of the author, "The general conclusion of the book is, that woman's relation to the republic is as important as man's. Woman deals with the beginnings of life; man with the product made from those beginnings; and this fact marks the difference in their spheres, and reveals woman's immense advantage in moral opportunity. It also suggests the incalculable loss in case her work is not done, or ill done. In a ruder age the evident

value of power that could deal with developed force was most appreciated; but such is not now the case. It lies with us to prove that education, instead of causing us to attempt work that belongs even less to the cultivated woman than to the ignorant, is fitting us to train up statesmen who will be the first to do us honor. The American republic depends finally for its existence and its greatness upon the virtue and ability of American womanhood. If our ideals are mistaken or unworthy, then there will be ultimately no republic for men to govern or defend. When women are Buddhists, the men build up an empire of India. When women are Mohammedans, the men construct an empire of Turkey. When women are Christians, men conceive and bring into being a republic like the United States. Woman is to implant the faith, man is to cause the nation's faith to show itself in works. More and more these duties overlap, but they cannot become interchangeable while sex continues to divide the race into two halves of what should become a perfect whole. Woman Suffrage aims to sweep away this natural distinction, and make humanity a mass of individuals with an indiscriminate sphere. The attack is now bold and now subtle, now malicious and now mistaken; but it is at all times an attack. The greatest danger with which this land is threatened comes from the ignorant and persistent zeal of some of its women. They abuse the freedom under which they live, and, to gain an impossible power, would fain destroy the government that alone can protect them. The majority of women have no sympathy with this movement; and in their enlightenment, and in the consistent wisdom of our men, lies our hope of defeating this unpatriotic, unintelligent and unjustifiable assault upon the integrity of the American republic."

## Result of Woman Suffrage Poll in America and England

From the New York Evening Sun

The following is the result of the poll on the question of Suffrage all over the city of New York. Interesting results shown.

	For	Against	Indifferent
Bronx .....	33	135	140
Upper Washington Heights .....	33	73	94
Lower Washington Heights .....	9	28	13
Morningside Heights .....	42	26	48
Middle West Side .....	15	24	61
Greenwich Village .....	55	117	72
Harlem .....	65	49	53
Upper East Side .....	30	27	43
Lower East Side .....	70	40	23
Brooklyn Heights .....	9	11	26
Brooklyn tenement district .....	15	27	12
Flatbush .....	22	16	30
Williamsburg .....	59	1	42
School teachers .....	10	7	11
Factory employees .....	52	27	34
Stenographers and bookkeepers .....	48	27	40
Saleswomen .....	4	16	36
Totals .....	571	651	779
Percentage in favor .....			28½
Percentage opposed .....			32½
Percentage indifferent .....			39

### From the London Anti-Suffrage Review

Shortly before the second reading of the Dickinson bill, a postcard canvass on the question of Woman Suffrage was carried out in the two constituencies of North St. Pancras and Worcester. These constituencies were chosen as those of two prominent Suffragists—one the actual mover of the bill about to be introduced into Parliament, the other the seconder of the Conciliation bill. The results of the canvasses which covered the Parliamentary and Municipal electors in each case were as follows:

#### NORTH ST. PANCRAS

Total electorate, men and women (omitting 301 untraced removals) .....	9,524
Replies received {	
Against Woman Suffrage .....	3,387
For Woman Suffrage* .....	1,119
Neutral .....	14
	4,520

Therefore of the total replies received, over 74 per cent. were Against Woman Suffrage  
\*120 of these declared in favor of Woman Suffrage on the present Municipal basis only

## WOMEN ONLY

Of the total electorate at North St. Pancras (omitting 10 untraced removals) 1,172 were women. Replies received from these were:

Against Woman Suffrage.....	378
For Woman Suffrage.....	200

Therefore of the total replies received from women electors 65 per cent. were Against Woman Suffrage

## WORCESTER

Total electorate, men and women (omitting 363 untraced removals).....10,022

Replies received {	Against Woman Suffrage.....	4,070	} 5,292
	For Woman Suffrage*.....	1,204	
	Neutral.....	18	

Therefore of the total replies received, over 76 per cent. were Against Woman Suffrage \*241 of these declared in favor of Woman Suffrage on the present Municipal basis only

## WOMEN ONLY

Of the total electorate at Worcester (omitting 43 untraced removals) 1,622 were women. Replies received from these were:

Against Woman Suffrage.....	588
For Woman Suffrage.....	307

Therefore of the total replies received from women electors over 65 per cent were Against Woman Suffrage

The canvass was carried out by post. A card, upon which was printed the registered number, was sent to each elector who was invited to reply "Yes" or "No" to the question, "Do you wish the Parliamentary vote to be given to Women?" and to sign his or her name. No name of a league or association was used, the covering letter asking the elector to express an opinion upon Woman Suffrage being signed by a private resident in the constituency to whom all replies were sent.

## Union of Housewives Now

**W**E reprint the following from the New York Times of June 15, as another "sign of the times."

We also hope that the men of America may soon realize that, as the Woman Suffrage movement, which is the author of woman's claim for wages from her husband, grows stronger in this country, every step taken by English Suffragettes, not excepting Militancy, will be slavishly followed here:

The Home Makers of Britain Will Use All Industrial Weapons

LONDON, June 14—According to the Labor Press Agency, wives who consider themselves entitled to both payment for

and occasional relief from household labors are invited to join the trade union formed at Croydon as the result of the agitation launched by Mrs. Woods, a well-known worker in various advanced movements.

The promoters of the union, which has been formed exclusively for the benefit of housewives, are hopeful of getting adherents from all parts of the country. The first work of the new society will be to organize housewives throughout the kingdom in order that they may be prepared to use the ordinary weapons of industrial warfare for the purpose of improving their economic position.

The title chosen is the National Home-makers Union.



## A Man's Point of View

By W. H. B.

IN the analysis of the causes underlying the agitation by the women of the present for what they claim to be their political rights, one thing stands out in very bold relief and that is the apparent assumption on their part that those moral and political liberties possessed (not necessarily enjoyed) by men are necessarily desirable for woman. That because certain so-called privileges are enjoyed by men therefore these shall define the ideals for woman to attain to. The claim that woman should enjoy all the political rights of man has grown to include the enjoyment (?) by her of his freedom from the binding force of many social rules. The agitation above referred to has, therefore, grown to have a distinctly demoralizing effect upon woman by substituting man's ideals for woman's, which latter, all must admit have been, on the average, higher than man's.

Man will quite generally accept woman's ideals as those which he, at least, should strive for. Today we see many of our respected women drinking, smoking and frequenting places of amusement with their husbands, where drunkenness is often the rule and is not ordinarily objected to, is even smiled at by members of their own party. Is man therefore to be blamed very much for relaxing his self-control when he observes that the women friends of his wife and sisters by their actions impliedly endorse his behavior.

Ideals of social and moral conduct will be as high as woman chooses to make them and if she lowers them by relaxing her requirements, standards will degener-

ate generally. Then if woman continues to seek complete equality with man she will have to stoop to the very standard which she has become satisfied with, and the degeneration will be continuous. To attain whatever rights may be her just due, let her use every effort with her strongest weapon, personal influence, to raise man to her high plane, and so elevate him that with the superior wisdom so attained, he may be given clearer vision to see things from her viewpoint and he will then hasten to extend to her whatever privileges she may have lacked through his former ignorance.



## The White Slave

From the New York Times

"Where art thou going in the dark night,  
O little girl, O pale girl, O child?"

"Ask me not, I pray, whither leads my way—  
A dark way, a thorny way and wild."

"Where art thou going in the cold night?  
From happy homes the firelight gleams afar."

"Ah! blessed light of hearth-fire bright—  
But I must walk beneath a baleful star."

"Thine eyes are dim with bitter, bitter weeping,  
Thou canst not see the road that thou must tread"—

"But there are fiends of wrath that hover o'er my path,  
And lead me on its downward courses dread."

"Thy feeble hands with manacles are laden,  
Let me tear away the fetters and the chains"—

"The cruel fetters fast about my soul are cast,  
Oh! heed me not, nor even hope remains."

"My heart is wrung for pity at thine anguish,  
To give thee help and solace am I fain."

"TEACH GOD'S BURNING TRUTH TO THOSE WHO HAVE  
NO RUTH—

ALL OTHER AID IS IMPOTENT AND VAIN."

MARY McMULLEN.

## Questions to Working Women

By Grace Nicoll

**D**O you want every year, no matter what the weather is, to go out in the rain or cold or snow to register and to cast a ballot?

Do you want to attend "primaries" and "caucuses," and Republican or Democratic club meetings, or do you think you have just about all you can do now as it is?

Do you want to do jury duty or police duty or some such thing? Or is it your idea to get all the so-called privileges of citizenship without bearing any of its burdens? Women even now receive protection for life and property, etc., and to this protection of course are fully entitled for other services to the state.

Suppose women as voters pass laws distasteful to men, how shall they go about it to get them enforced? Unenforced laws are now on the statute book of Colorado, an equal suffrage state, as well as in many others.

Do you think all our fathers and brothers and husbands are sordid and indifferent and selfish?

Are all women good and sympathetic and lovely, and all men cruel and hardened and vile?

What great thing can the vote really do unless the public opinion of the whole community—both men and women—is behind it?

Do you think yourself capable of looking up the records and learning the life histories and policies of numerous yearly prospective and frequently changing candidates? Do you believe that you could do this thoroughly and effectively? Or does it seem to you that men can best

find out about men, just as women know most about women?

The tendency of civilization is to specialize—each doing that which each is best qualified to do. Animals and savages all do everything. Is it wise to return to this discarded and wasteful plan?

Does it take most of an average woman's ability, whether rich or poor, to manage a home as it should be managed? Are the women who have not homes and never expect to have them the majority or the minority of the sex? And do we wish this number to increase or to decrease in this country?

Are there really no forms of helpful social service now for women who are not fully occupied at home? Need any free handed woman now be circumscribed to domestic duties only?

Are there not women of leisure in our philanthropics, on our hospital boards, in our child welfare committees, etc., and contributing this service at the seasons in life when they are freest and best able, without the burden of the vote having been saddled upon them in their most arduous and perhaps toiling years?

A woman thus situated must either have her strength taxed in one more direction—or else fall into the class of neglectful voters where so many busy men seem already to be stranded.



## Knocks Out Policewoman

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 27—Policewoman Nellie Tarbell of the Los Angeles city force was knocked down and out today by a blow from the fist of Mary Courteis, who had been arrested for insanity by Mrs. Tarbell and two other women.

## Suffragist Defends Militants' Tactics

Palo Alto Woman Declares That No Other Way Can Win in England

From the San Francisco Examiner, April 19

### THE MILITANT SUFFRAGETTE

By PERCY SHAW

You can talk of life on the ocean wave,  
Or sing of the roaring gale,  
Of the trumpet's call as the billows fall  
Like demon's upon the sail;  
But give me the life of the Suffragette,  
With powder and torch and fuse,  
And I'll guarantee, as I wander free,  
To cut a swath in the news.

I'll burn a castle, a house or a shed,  
And slip away in the dark;  
As a matter of pride I'll stand aside  
To laugh at my midnight lark.  
I'll fill a mail-box with acid or oil;  
I'll blow up a bridge with glee;  
And I'll say to the judge: "What, ho! oh, fudge!  
Now what can you do to me?"

"If you send me to jail I'll hunger strike,  
And when I get out once more  
I'll join in the fray in the same old way,  
But worse than I did before."  
Oh, the life of a Suffragette for me,  
It's out of the beaten track,  
And the thing I like when I war and strike—  
The gentlemen can't hit back.

Mrs. Alice L. Park of Palo Alto, the noted Suffrage worker, who will leave today for a tour of the East and to attend the seventh international Woman Suffrage Congress in Budapest, came to the defense of the English Militant Suffragists yesterday, declaring that their methods had helped greatly in getting the vote for California women.

"I sympathize deeply with the tactics of the Militants in London," she said.

"They are justified in destroying the property to gain recognition. Kind pleadings and civilized methods of gaining the recognition of the English government

have failed and anything short of taking life is justified with them.

"It is true," she said, "that violence only wants to make the people against whom it is forced fight it, but the publicity that comes from their actions in putting the by-word, 'votes for women' in the mouths of every person on the globe has shown that it has done good.

"The tactics are not pursued because the women are driven to despair over the fact that they may not get their votes in their lifetime, but because of the publicity which their acts give to the movement." Mrs. Park said: "Every time the English women invent some new form of getting publicity the English government invents some new form of punishment with which to fight it.

"I am tired of the English women being blamed for crudeness, and for their violence; to them a great deal of the credit is due for getting the votes for women in California, in giving publicity to the cause. If they did not destroy property and do things that are out of the ordinary, no one would pay any attention to them and their actions would be a pure loss.



### Suffrage Wins in Nevada

CARSON CITY, Nev., Jan. 30—The equal suffrage amendment passed the senate today by a vote of 19 to 3. Senators Bell and Mills, who were opposed, declared they would be glad to support the measure if they thought the women of Nevada really want Suffrage, but that they felt sure the amendment would be defeated when it comes before the people, and therefore voted against it.



## Quo Vadis, Femina?

IN the "Nineteenth Century" for March Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun writes a striking article under this title. Beginning with the statement that "Among the many arresting phenomena of the times we live in there is none, probably, of more vital importance than the growth and tendency of modern feminism." She defines feminism as follows: "Feminism is taken to mean the advancement of woman and woman's work as such. It implies a special stress on sex, although that is probably the last thing its advocates consciously desire;" . . . "There is a degree of sex egoism about feminist literature which is a pathetic comment on claims for sex equality."

Following the thought of the writer, we read, "It is the pose of the feminist to assume that in her strivings to readjust her position, women has been handicapped by the opposition of man, and by artificial restraints placed on her by his will," but Mrs. Colquhoun believes that "the key to the situation lies, not in the attitude of man towards woman, . . . but in the attitude of women toward each other." To pretend that men set the standard for women is shown to be absurd. Following the attempts to equalize sex conditions, "the crux of feminism," we are given glimpses of the spectacular manifestations of this movement, the domination of society by women, women in the industrial sphere, the demand for the readjustment of the marriage customs and the economic independence for the mother. "The initial error of feminism" is proved by the writer to be "the attempt to measure man and woman by the same standards and to prescribe for them the same

rules of conduct, the same ideals and a similarity of occupation." Well may she close this incomparable argument against this "philosophy of the sexes" with the question, "Whither are we drifting on the feminist tide?"



## Woman Suffrage Gone Wrong?

From the New York Evening World

WHAT is this? The women voters of Phoenix, Ariz., have blocked prohibition and voted to keep the saloons open! More than half the votes cast were those of women, and if these had been only evenly divided Phoenix would have gone dry.

One of the star arguments of the Suffragists has always been that when women vote the schools and the liquor question and the general standards of the community are lifted to a new and higher plane. Phoenix women seem to have hit the wrong track. Their chief reason for turning down prohibition is said to have been that Phoenix being a town to which folks come for rest and recreation, cutting out the saloons would discourage the transients and empty the boarding-houses.

This sounds like good business, but is it just what we expected from the women? Giving women the vote was supposed to uplift the community to something approaching female altitudes. In Phoenix, on the contrary, the women seem to have taken the vote and promptly slid down with it to the sordid levels of mere man.



## Two Kinds of Women

From "The Spectator," London

## I

She sought her "Rights"  
 Robbed by some cruel chance of life's delights,  
 With a dissatisfied and restless soul,  
 With a half logic, which she counted whole;  
 Earnest, no doubt, and honest, not unsexed,  
 But hungering, and quivering, and vexed  
 With starving instincts in a fruitless frame  
 And with an itching for the sort of fame  
 Which comes from the mere printing of a name,  
 She clamored for her "Rights," showed solemn  
 craft,

And men,  
 Brute men,  
 They only laughed.

## II

She did not seek her "Rights,"  
 She dreamed not of some path to mannish heights,  
 But followed nature's way and deemed it good,  
 And bloomed from flower to fruit of womanhood;  
 She loved the "tyrant"; bore her noble part  
 In life with him, and thought with all her heart  
 She had her rights.

She held that something men and women meant  
 To be unlike, but each a supplement  
 Unto the other; 'twas her gentle whim  
 He was not more to her than she to him;  
 And little children gathered at her knee,

And men,  
 Brute men,  
 Would die for such as she.



## Rich Santa Barbara Women Back Saloon

From the San Francisco Examiner

SANTA BARBARA, May 2.—The appearance today of the names of several Santa Barbara and Montecito society women to a published petition addressed to "The men and women voters of Santa Barbara" asking them to vote in favor of the saloons at the "Wet" and "Dry" election here May 13 stirred interest to the highest pitch in a campaign that for a month has not been more than of passing notice.

The petition is signed by three hundred voters, twelve of them being women who include Mrs. Eleanor Graham, wife of W. O. Graham, California oil baron; Mrs. Robert Louis Stevenson, widow of the late author; Mrs. Isobel Strong, daughter of Mrs. Stevenson; Mrs. Mary Norton, Miss Sarah Redington, Mrs. Julia R. Wilson, Mrs. Nellie M. Potter, wife of Milo M. Potter; Miss Nina Jones, Mrs. Emma W. Brody, Mrs. J. A. Haynes, Mrs. Mary S. Whitney and Mrs. Lillian Beale.



## Americans Honor Militant Martyr ?

THE English Suffragists are making much of the "first martyr to the cause"—the poor unfortunate woman whose misguided zeal cost her her life. The funeral was made the occasion of a parade and the usual demonstration of the police. Among the organizations represented were the Socialists and the Dockworkers. The clergy of St. George's Church, Bloomsbury, marched in front of the coffin. The rector, the Rev. Charles Ord Baumgarten, had issued a statement that he was not a sympathiser with the women's militant tactics. At Budapest a memorial service was held for "the woman who died for the cause." At the conclusion of the service, which was attended by American and English delegates, a resolution proposed by Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson (Socialist) expressing admiration for the "heroic martyrdom of Miss Davison, who has given her life as a protest against the denial of justice to women" was adopted.

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